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between father and daughter, brother and sister, and of mother and daughter with the same man; "but the others hated them because of it." Of polygyny, the latter author wrote:

> It is a fact that some of the savages have several wives; yet nevertheless many women are without husbands, because the majority have only one wife, though there are a few who have two in one or two carbets. It happens quite often (when they are in another island where they have not brought their mistresses) that they get themselves new ones for the time of their stay only. I have never seen two women together, eating or sleeping with a Savage, nor travelling together with him in the same canoe. They have their turn, month and month about, even when pregnant. After giving birth they are a good while without seeing them for fear of harming the child.

However, it was not unknown for a wife to remain without seeing her husband for a whole year; and we are told of one case where the neglected woman's father, a chief, sent to warn his son-in-law that unless he put in a speedy appearance, he would find his wife bestowed upon another. Du Tertre, La Borde,[4] and Labat (though not Breton) mention the sororate. "If a husband shows himself worthy," says the latter, "or should his wife grow ill or old, the father-in-law will reward him by presenting him with the younger sister of his wife."

The old records mention no marriage ceremony other than that which consisted in the bride's serving the groom with food, and then eating with him. Then their hammocks would be slung next to one another; and the following day, the bride would comb her husband's hair and smear him with oil and roku (*Bixa orellana*). No women-folk except a man's own wife might eat with him, says Breton; while according to Labat (and present-day usage) not even wives ate with their husbands.

The bridegroom—unless he were a chief or a chief's son—took up his abode with his wife's family, and contributed as best he could to their common weal. Every married woman had her own fire for cooking, however; and every couple its own maiyoû, to sleep in, as well as the use of the communal tibuy or longhouse, which was divided into men's and women's halves. As has been seen above, if a man had more than one wife, he was expected to divide his time and services between their respective carbets.

Newly married couples were supposed to avoid (for how long we are not told) parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. Nor should they visit sick people, as this might hinder their recovery. According to Rochefort[5] (and present-day

4 (R. P.) de La Borde, *Recueil de divers voyages* (Paris, 1674).

5 César de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles de l'Amérique* (Rotterdam, 1665) [also contributed to de Poincy].

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Perhaps it was such restrictions that led to the now all too frequent practice of lying in wait for and seducing a girl who has been sent out for wood or water. The Caribs call this "to wirikéd" (cf. Breton, kawilikátiti *il est paillard, il monte bien*). It is remarkable that, although she may run away or resist, the average Carib girl will neither call out for help nor betray her and her would-be seducer's presence. On the other hand, once seduced, she will most likely tell her mother of it, although she knows well enough that she alone will be punished for failing to escape.

But apart from all promiscuous relations, there are many extra-legal unions whose character and stability are such that they may be termed orthodox. In these cases, the consent of the girl's parents is requisite, and it is in their home that the young man then comes to live and labor. Hence many parents' reluctance to have their sons marry, and their readiness to accept extra-legal mates for their daughters. Should the young couple prove incompatible, the husband may return to his own home, or seek another mate elsewhere; while any children of the union remain with their mother and receive occasional gifts from their father. More often, however, the union strengthens; and sooner or later a separate establishment in the vicinity of the girl's home is set up, with or without legalization of the marriage. Of romance in our sense there is little, and that little laughed at. Men look for a wife who will prove neither lazy nor weak, women for a man who will be a good provider. Today, these qualifications are often first sought in those of mixed or full negro blood; but while a Carib man may introduce a Creole wife, a girl who marries outside the Reserve has to leave it.

Legal (or rather, religious) marriages usually take place between mature couples only and when the bride has already given proof of fertility. Actually, it is not uncommon for her to have several children who do not necessarily belong to her husband nor to any other one man. Of course children soon come to be an asset under primitive conditions, and few men are above taking advantage of a wife's pre-marital adolescent daughter; but on the whole Carib men are remarkably tolerant of a wife's pre-marital lapses, and treat her "outside children" as well as their own.

It is not possible to give any general rule as to the frequency or duration of matrilocal (uxorilocal) residence, as this depends on any number of circumstances. Usually, the younger and less experienced the couple, the longer will they remain without a home of their own; but lack of space or disharmony between young and old may be a deciding factor as against economic interest. The following household lists, taken at random, will serve as examples:

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591 (1) Father; mother; married daughter, her husband and their children; two
592 unmarried daughters, both with children; one unmarried son.

Three other married daughters have separate establishments in the immediate vicinity, as does one married son. Another married son lives with his wife's family some miles away, and one married daughter lives with her husband's people.

(2) Widowed mother; married daughter, her husband, and their children; widowed son; grandson (the latter is the son of another married daughter who has a separate neighboring establishment).

The widowed son's children live with their maternal grandmother.

(3) Father; mother; mother's pre-marital married daughter with her pre-marital son and her husband; mother's pre-marital son; unmarried daughter and her children; son; small son; small daughter.

586 Legal divorce is unknown to these Caribs, though they apply the word "divorce" to any separation between couples married legally or otherwise, of which there are several examples. In one case the wife left her husband because of ill-treatment; in another the husband abandoned his wife and fled to Guadeloupe (where he remarried) because he was in trouble with the English law; while yet another husband "divorced" because he could not get on with his wife's mother. Separation on grounds of sexual infidelity is very rare—chiefly because such a reason is considered too trivial to break up the union. Widows and widowers are free to remarry as and when they please.

585 Newly married couples as such are subject to no special restrictions, nor is
[604] there any formal avoidance of parents-in-law. Customs and beliefs affecting
[595] behavior at the menstrual period, during pregnancy, and after childbirth have been discussed in another paper.[7] In as far as the latter concern the father as well as the mother, they show vestiges of the couvade.

847 An illegitimate children and their parents are in no way stigmatized, abortion
844 is rare and generally condemned (although on account of changing economic conditions it appears to be now on the increase). Parturition takes place in a
[820] crouching position, usually with the aid of the parturient's mother or of some old sage-femme, who employs massage and various herbal teas or potions (such as a draught of a boy's urine) if she considers it necessary to hasten labor. When she has cut and bound the navel cord, and bathed the child, the sage-femme (or maternal grandmother) takes the infant on her lap, and inserts a finger under
[309]

7 Douglas Taylor, *Carib Folk-Beliefs and Customs from Dominica, B. W. I.* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. I, pp. 507-510, 1945), p. 510.